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PAGE 01 STATE 046448
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CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 046448

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 046448

HOLD FOR OPENING OF BUSINESS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, CSCE, PARM

SUBJECT: CSCE/CBMS: MARCH 3 POLADS

REFS: (A) USNATO 852 (DTG 151602Z FEB 77)

-- (B) USNATO 854 (DTG 151655Z FEB 77)

--- (C) STATE 30016(DTG 100037Z FEB 77)

-- (D) USNATO 505 (DTG 281903Z JAN 77)

-- (E) STATE 257162 (DTG 161703Z OCT 76)

1. THE FOLLOWING GUIDANCE FOR MARCH 3 POLADS' DISCUSSION OF CSCE/CBMS SUPPLEMENTS GUIDANCE CONTAINED IN REFS C AND E. INSTRUCTIONS BELOW ARE KEYED TO ITEMS IN INTERNATIONAL STAFF LIST TRANSMITTED IN REF D WHICH ARE CURRENTLY UNDER DISCUSSION AND ON WHICH GUIDANCE HAS NOT BEEN PROVIDED PREVIOUSLY. IN DRAWING ON OUR COMMENTS, YOU SHOULD INDICATE THAT THESE ARE PRELIMINARY VIEWS AND THAT DEFINITIVE US POSITIONS WILL BE DEVELOPED LATER, TAKING ACCOUNT OF VIEWS OF ALLIES.

A. PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS: WE ARE STILL EXAMINING THE POSSIBLE EFFECTS OF A MOVEMENTS CB; ON ALLIANCE SECURITY AND CONSIDERING HOW ANY SUCH CBM MIGHT BE FORMULATED TO SERVE WESTERN INTERESTS. WE HOPE TO BE ABLE TO REPORT OUR CONCLUSIONS TO THE ALLIES IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

B. EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS: WE ARE IN GENERAL ACCORD WITH SPIRIT OF FRG PROPOSAL ON THIS SUBJECT, AS TRANSMITTED IN REF B, AS IT IS EVIDENTLY DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 046448

A BROADER AND MORE MEANINGFUL ACCESS TO MANEUVER PLAY FOR OBSERVERS THAN THAT HERETOFORE AFFORDED BY WARSAW PACT NATIONS. WE BELIEVE FRG PROPOSAL SHOULD FORM THE BASIS OF A POSSIBLE ALLIED INITIATIVE ON THIS SUBJECT. HOWEVER, SOME OF SPECIFIC POINTS MENTIONED IN FRG PROPOSAL ARE TOO SWEEPINGLY PHRASED AND IF ADOPTED WOULD DEPRIVE HOSTS OF NECESSARY ADMINISTRATIVE FLEXIBILITY AND IN SOME INSTANCES COULD ALSO EXPOSE LEGITIMATE ALLIED SECURITY INTERESTS. WE BELIEVE OBSERVERS SHOULD BE AFFORDED BROADEST POSSIBLE ACCESS TO MANEUVER EVENTS CONSISTENT WITH REASONABLE LOGISTICAL CONSTRAINTS AND LEGITIMATE SECURITY INTERESTS, WHICH CAN BE ASSESSED IN THE FIELD ONLY BY THE HOSTS. DETAILED COMMENTS ON FRG SUGGESTIONS ARE CONTAINED IN PARA 3 BELOW.

C. POSSIBLE YUGOSLAV INITIATIVE ON REFRAINING FROM CERTAIN FORMS OF MILITARY ACTIVITY: WE BELIEVE THE ALLIES SHOULD DISCOURAGE THE YUGOSLAVS FROM TAKING AN INITIATIVE IN THIS DIRECTION. WE DO NOT BELIEVE IT

WOULD BE IN ALLIED INTERESTS TO HAVE THE BELGRADE MEETING PRODUCE A DOCUMENT OF UNDETERMINED STATUS WHICH WOULD IMPOSE RESTRICTIONS ON OUR MILITARY ACTIVITIES BUT WHOSE IMPLEMENTATION WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO ENFORCE OR VERIFY IN WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES.

D. SWEDISH PROPOSAL ON PRESENTATION OF MILITARY BUDGETS: WE HAVE GIVEN STRONG SUPPORT TO SWEDISH INITIATIVES ALONG THESE LINES AT THE UN AND IN CCD. WE BELIEVE A PARALLEL INITIATIVE IN CSCE WOULD COMPLEMENT THE EFFORTS BEING MADE IN THESE OTHER FORA. SHOULD THE SWEDES DECIDE TO MAKE A PROPOSAL ON THIS SUBJECT IN BELGRADE, WE MAY WELL WISH TO GIVE IT FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION AND BELIEVE THE ALLIES SHOULD CONSIDER DOING THE SAME. ON THE BASIS OF PAST SWEDISH PROPOSALS, WE ANTICIPATE THAT THEY WOULD CALL FOR VOLUNTARY REPORTING OF ACTUAL MILITARY EXPENDITURES IN DOMESTIC PRICES AND CURRENCIES. WE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 046448

WOULD EXPECT THEIR PROPOSAL TO PRESCRIBE REPORTING OF THESE EXPENDITURES IN CONFORMANCE WITH DETAILED STANDARDS OF DEFINITION, SCOPE, AND CONTENT, ALONG THE LINES OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE 1976 UN EXPERT GROUP REPORT ON THE MEASUREMENT AND INTERNATIONAL REPORTING OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES. SOME ASPECTS OF INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON, SUCH AS COMPARABLE VALUATION, PRICE DEFLATION, AND CONVERSION TO A COMMON CURRENCY, WOULD PROBABLY BE DEFERRED, BUT THE DISTORTING EFFECTS OF NON-COMPARABLE NATIONAL BUDGET ACCOUNTS WOULD BE ELIMINATED. WE SHOULD,

OF COURSE, CONSIDER HOW ALLIED MILITARY EXPENDITURES WOULD APPEAR PUBLICLY, IN COMPARISON WITH THOSE OF THE WARSAW PACT, WHEN PUBLISHED IN THE PRESCRIBED FORMAT. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE ALLIED SUPPORT OF AN EFFECTIVELY FORMULATED SWEDISH PROPOSAL COULD HAVE BOTH TACTICAL AND SUBSTANTIVE ADVANTAGES. IT WOULD BE A SPECIFIC EXPRESSION OF WESTERN WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE WITH THE NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED AT BELGRADE AND COULD HELP DEFLECT THEM FROM PURSUIT OF LESS DESIRABLE CBMS. IT COULD EXERT GREATER PRESSURE ON THE SOVIETS TO DISCUSS PROBLEMS OF VERIFICATION IN CONNECTION WITH MILITARY EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS, AND COULD BEGIN PROGRESS TOWARD A MORE VERIFIABLE SYSTEM OF MILITARY EXPENDITURE REPORTING THROUGHOUT EUROPE. IF THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES SHOULD BLOCK THE PROPOSAL, AS THEY WOULD BE LIKELY TO DO, THEIR REFUSAL TO COOPERATE IN INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS AT CONFIDENCE-BUILDING THROUGH STANDARDIZED REPORTING OF MILITARY EXPENDITURES WOULD BE UNDERSCORED, AND THE PROPAGANDA EFFECTS OF THEIR TEN PERCENT MILITARY BUDGET REDUCTION PROPOSAL WOULD BE

WEAKENED. WE WOULD THEREFORE RECOMMEND THAT ONE OR MORE OF THE ALLIES SEEK AN AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENT OF SWEDISH INTENTIONS IN THIS MATTER.

E. EXTENSION OF CBMS TO NON-CSCE MEDITERRANEAN
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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 046448

COUNTRIES. WE BELIEVE ALLIES SHOULD OPPOSE ANY SUCH INITIATIVE.

2. YOU SHOULD RECOMMEND THAT INTERNATIONAL STAFF EDIT AND REVISE LIST OF CBMS POINTS FOR CONSIDERATION IN BELGRADE, AS CONTAINED REF D, TO ELIMINATE ANY PROPOSALS THAT ARE NO LONGER UNDER ACTIVE CONSIDERATION. WE BELIEVE ALLIES SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON THOSE WHICH ARE STILL ACTIVE. THIS, OF COURSE, DOES NOT PRECLUDE ADDING NEW ONES FOR DISCUSSION SHOULD THAT BECOME APPROPRIATE.

3. OUR DETAILED COMMENTS ON FRG SUGGESTIONS FOR TREATMENT OF OBSERVERS ARE AS FOLLOWS, KEYED TO TICKS IN REF B:

A) WE BELIEVE "OPPORTUNITY TO SEE ALL INTERESTING PARTS AND EVENTS OF THE MANEUVER" IS TOO BROAD A COMMITMENT. THE MILITARY COMMITTEE HAS ENDORSED A "MINIMUM SET" OF OBSERVER PRIVILEGES WHICH AFFIRMS "RELATIVE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT." WE BELIEVE THIS IS PREFERABLE TO FRG TERMINOLOGY.

B), C) AND D) CONCUR. THE "MINIMUM SET, OF PRIVILEGES

ENDORSED BY THE MILITARY COMMITTEE INCLUDES "ADEQUATE" BRIEFING.

E) WE HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT COMMITMENT TO PROVIDE "QUICKEST POSSIBLE" MEANS OF TRAVEL TO OBSERVERS. THIS COULD IMPLY PROVISION OF HELICOPTER LIFT ON DEMAND, FOR EXAMPLE, WHICH COULD BE UNDULY BURDENSOME ON HOSTS. WE PREFER TERM "QUICKEST FEASIBLE" MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION, LEAVING DECISION WHAT IS FEASIBLE UP TO HOST.

F) CONCUR. ALSO ENDORSED BY MILITARY COMMITTEE AND
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 046448

INCLUDED IN "MINIMUM SET" OF PRIVILEGES, WHICH ENDORSES

CARRYING AND USE OF PHOTOGRAPHIC AND OPTICAL EQUIPMENT.
PROVISION OF MAPS WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL TO OBSERVERS.

G) ACCESS TO MATERIEL--WE AGREE THAT OBSERVERS SHOULD BE AFFORDED "SOME INFORMATION" AND BE ALLOWED "TO GET A LOOK AT" MILITARY EQUIPMENT. HOWEVER, COMMITMENT TO ACROSS-THE-BOARD ACCESS WOULD BE ADMINISTRATIVELY UNDULY BURDENSOME AND COULD POSE SECURITY PROBLEMS. ACCESS TO MATERIEL SHOULD BE AFFORDED GENEROUSLY BUT AT INVITATION OF HOST ONLY.

H) CONCUR, WITH CAVEAT THAT THIS SHOULD NOT INTERFERE WITH THE CONDUCT OF THE EXERCISE.

I) WE SEE A PROBLEM IN ASSURING UNRESTRAINED ACCESS TO "ALL UNITS" AND THEIR COMMANDERS. THIS COULD IMPINGE ON COMMANDERS' TIME TO SUCH AN EXTENT THAT EXERCISE PLAY WOULD SUFFER. FURTHERMORE, WE DO NOT BELIEVE ACCESS TO "ALL" UNITS AND COMMANDERS IS FEASIBLE OR DESIRABLE. RATHER, WE PREFER TO LEAVE TO HOST DECISION ON WHICH UNITS/COMMANDERS TO VISIT, WHILE ENCOURAGING AS BROAD ACCESS TO UNITS AND COMMANDERS AS IS FEASIBLE.

4. YOU SHOULD NOTE IN MARCH 3 POLADS THAT WE WELCOME GERMAN ANALYSIS OF NUMBERS OF EXERCISES OF VARIOUS SIZES AND SORTS HELD BY NATO AND THE WARSAW PACT IN RECENT YEARS AND ARE INTERESTED TO NOTE THAT IT SUPPORTS THE CONCLUSION THAT LOWERING THE NOTIFICATION THRESHOLD TO 10,000 WOULD REVERSE THE PRESENT SITUATION IN WHICH THE ALLIES HOLD MORE REPORTABLE EXERCISES THAN DOES THE PACT--AT LEAST WITHIN THE AREA COVERED BY THE GERMAN FIGURES. WE AWAIT WITH INTEREST MORE COMPREHENSIVE IMS FIGURES.

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PAGE 07 STATE 046448

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